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IX.—"ACCORDING TO THE DECORUM OF THESE DAIES"

In the winter of 1567-8 five gentlemen of the Inner Temple presented befor the queen a tragedy entitled Gismond of Salerne, 1 In 1591-2 Robert Wilmot, author of the fifth act, publisht a revision of the entire work under the name Tancred and Gismund.2 This was reprinted by Dodsley. The erlier version has cum down to us in two Ms. copies, both in the British Museum: Hargrave 205, knoen as H, and Landsdowne 786, knoen as L, the former dating from the third quarter of the sixteenth century, the latter from the end of the sixteenth or the beginning of the seventeenth century. L has been reprinted by Brandl in volume LXXX of Quellen und Forschungen and by Cunliffe in his Early English Classical Tragedies. Renewed study of the work finds a stimulus in the recent publication of a fotografic reproduction of H in Farmer's facsimile edition of The Old English Drama.

Why did Wilmot take the trubl to get out the new version? Not for public performance—he scornd that. In his address "To the Worshipful and learned Societie, the Gentlemen Students of the Inner Temple, with the rest of his singular good friends, the Gentlemen of the Middle Temple, and to all other curteous readers," he declares:

I am now bold to present Gismund to your sights, and unto yours only, for therfore hav I conjured her, by the lov that hath bin these 24. yeres betwixt us, that she waxe not so proud of her fresh painting, to stragle in her plumes abrod, but to contein her selfe within the walles of your house; so I am sure she shal be safe from the tragedian tyrants of our time, who ar not ashamed to affirme that

¹ To be referd to in this paper as G. of S.

² To be referd to in this paper as T. and G.

ther can no amarous poeme savour of any sharpnes of wit unlesse it be seasoned with scurrilous words.

He even douted whether it was proper for him, as a member of the clergy, to undertake the task, not feeling certain what kind of witnes a work of such a nature wud be—whether for him or against him—on the day of judgment. It must therfor hav been a strong inducement that finally resolved his mental conflict in favor of performing the task.

It seems likely that he was prompted at this late date to issu a revision of Gismond, by the recent notabl production of The Misfortunes of Arthur by the gentlmen of Gray's Inn; for ther seems to hav been a traditional rivalry between that institution and the Inner Temple. In 1561-2 the Inner Temple distinguisht itself with the production of Gorboduc, the first regular tragedy in English and the first English drama to employ blank verse. For five years the unique position of this play remaind undisputed. When, however, in 1566, Gray's Inn came out with Jocasta, the Inner Temple hastend to retriev its position and in the following year brot out Gismond of Salerne, in which, as in its first production, it shoed grater originality than its rival; for Jocasta was merely a free translation of a tragedy of the same name by Dolce. Morover, its plot bor a strong resemblance to that of Gorboduc. In both, the conflict between two brothers precipitates a tragedy which a parent-in one case the mother, in the other the father—attempts to avert. The yung Templars now dropt blank vers, apparently becaus this had been imitated in Jocasta, and sot their material in the new field of the They enjoyd the pre-eminence thus Italian novella. restord, for twenty years. Then in 1587-8, when plays of the purely Senecan type had ceast to be expected, Gray's Inn came out with The Misfortunes of Arthur, the material drawn, as in Gorboduc, from mythical English history. Probably it was to offset the effect of this obsolete production, that the loyal Wilmot decided to publish his long-cherisht Gismond, alterd to suit the new taste. That he came under the influence of The Misfortunes of Arthur is proved by his attempt to divide the corus into four parts, each part to be sung by a different member. Such division was an innovation on the part of The Misfortunes of Arthur.

Before considering the alterations in Tancred and Gismund it is important to note a significant set of relations. There has been too much loose talk about the connections between the English Senecan plays and the popular drama. One prominent riter, speaking of The Spanish Tragedy, tels of its departure from the practis that had been folloed in Gorboduc and The Misfortunes of Arthur. Now The Spanish Tragedy preceded The Misfortunes of Arthur. Again, an eminent authority rites: "The Spanish Tragedy marks an advance on the strictly Senecan ghosts of Tancred and Gismund and The Misfortunes of Arthur." Here, too, ther is the thotless implication that The Misfortunes of Arthur preceded The Spanish Tragedy; and besides, there is no gost in Tancred and Gismund, even assuming that the riter ment Gismond of Salerne. If we keep our dates distinctly in mind we ar imprest with sum interesting facts. The Spanish Tragedy, a play ritten for popular performance, was the first English tragedy to introduce the gost, and the scolarly authors of The Misfortunes of Arthur did not disdain to copy the innovation. There can be no dout of this, since Kyd had departed from Seneca in making the gost appear not only at the beginning of the play, but also at the end, and incidentally between the acts; and in The Misfortunes of Arthur the gost appears also at the end, and the first portion of its final speech is modeld on the first portion of the final speech of the gost in The

Spanish Tragedy. The lesson taut here is that dramatic conditions had becum such that the popular theatre compeld the attention even of scolars who douted the tecnical propriety of the popular play.³ In other words, the popular drama was becuming a standard; and in the next few years the authority of this new standard must have grown in a positiv degree, so that in 1591 Wilmot believed that the way to commend his revision to the favorabl opinion of the exclusiv aristocratic and learned audience he had chosen for himself, was to announce on the title page that the play was "newly revived and polished according to the decorum of these daies." Let us investigate the extent of his revision.

The change in the later version that instantly strikes our attention is that of versification. With certain explainable exceptions, the rime, in which all of the earlier version is ritten, is dropt for heroic blank verse; for Marlowe had settld once for all that this was the proper medium of tragic expression. The two speeches of Cupid (1, i and 111, i), Lucrece's report of Gismund's condition (111, ii), Renuchio's report of the execution of Guiszard, and the coruses, remain in rime. These ar not considerd an integral part of the play. The speeches of Cupid ar merely prologs, while those of Lucrece and Renuchio correspond to the messenger's speech in classical tragedy. Indeed Renuchio is designated in H "Rednuccio the messenger."

The other mecanical changes in the play ar dictated generally by a desire to make the play better adapted to stage production; for altho he profest himself averse to a performance in a public theater, yet he wud have been happy to see a privat production. In his dedication to

^{*}Kyd himself was an admirer at hart of the strictly Senecan type, as proved by his subsequent association with the Countess of Pembroke's coterie, and his translation of Garnier's Cornélie.

Lady Mary Peter and Lady Anne Gray he assures these "worshipful ladies" that such a thing wud not be expensiv. A variation in Cupid's opening speech shows that the riter had the spectator in mind:

Meanwhile, sit still, and here I shall you show etc.

and the revised epilog closes with the line:

Now draw the curtens for our scene is done.

The stage directions in the original version are sumtimes naivly impractical. Such ar usually alterd in the revision. The alterations generally indicate that Wilmot studiusly sot to improve the dramatic effectivness of his scenes. They ar mor minute and aim at concreteness. They reveal a preference for fulness, variety, and movement on the stage. Sumtimes caracters ar brot on merely to be sent off, thus to increas the movement. These qualities ar in contrast to the ideals of the Senecan model, which aimd at simplicity and dignity. Compare with the corresponding directions in T. and G., the directions in G. of S. at the following points: 1, 1; 1, end; 11, 111, 111, 111, 111, 111, 111, end; 11, 1, end; 11, 1, end; 12, v, ii, 84.

There is an attempt at mor advanst tecnic. In the earlier version ther ar two confidantes—Lucrece, Tancred's sister, in the second act, and Claudia, a "woman of Gismond's privie chamber," in the third act. It was a Senecan rule that the confidante of the female protagonist shud be her nurse. Apparently the author of Act II and the author of Act III had not cum to an agreement about the observance of this rule; the latter, it seems, insisting on conceding to it to the extent of making the confidante a subordinat. Wilmot simply dropt Claudia and assined her share to Lucrece.

In G. of S. (11, i) Gismund merely complains to her

aunt, Lucrece, about her continued widehood and her ignorance of her father's intentions. In *T. and G.* she confesses, in quite a natural manner, that she is in love, and with one of the nobles at the cort. This constitutes quite an improvement in the exposition of the plot.

A similar improvement is effected by Wilmot when, in Act II, scene ii, he introduces Guiszard, Gismund's lover, together with the two remaining caracters of the play. The three ar brot on as mutes. To be sure, he mite hav don stil better by creating an interest in them. As it is, the best that is accomplisht is that when Guiszard subsequently appears as the lover, we remember having seen him befor.

In G. of S. entrances and exits, and openings and closings of scenes, ar mecanically contrived. Generally a caracter cums on, speaks his piece, and goes off without any mor ado. In T. and G. they ar mor thotfully managed, and the stif rigidity of the original is softened by the introduction of appropriat transitions, and an effort at "shading off," as Furnivall wud cal it. To a certain extent the stage directions cited abuv serv to indicate this. Other illustrations follo.

The original play opens with caracteristic abruptness. Cupid cums down from the "heven" and begins:

Loe, I, in shape that seems unto your sight etc.

We can almost picture him making a preparatory bow. In the revision ther precedes a wel conceived introductory line that shades off naturally:

There rest my chariot on the mountaine tops.

At the end of I, iii of G. of S. Tancred and Gismund go off for no other reason than that the author has ritten no mor for them to say. In T. and G. a motiv is supplied

for their departure, and for leaving behind Gismund's four maidens, who ar to act as corus.

In 11, i, 76 of G. of S. Lucrece dismisses Gismund, who exits without saying a word. In T. and G., Gismund exits with parting speech, to which Lucrece responds:

Gis. I leave you to the fortune of my starres.

Luc. The heavens I hope will favor your request.

In G. of S. Lucrece, left on the stage, soliloquizes and decides to interview Tancred, who then makes an opportune appearance, as in the Roman plays. In T. and G. we are prepared for Tancred's appearance by a remark of Lucrece:

I heard it said He meanes this evening in the parke to hunt; Here will I wait attending his approach.

In G. of S. Lucrece, finishing her soliloquy, addresses Tancred without any greeting or preparation of any sort. In T. and G. this puppet-like arrangement is don away with. As Tancred enters with his companions, redy for the hunt, he cals out:

Uncouple all our hounds: Lords to the chase:

then seeing Lucrece, he says to her:

Faire sister Lucre, what's the newes with you?

and thus the scene continues naturally.

In G. of S. Lucrece delivers her speech, Tancred responds with a longer speech, and then, for the sake of the formal ending of the scene, Lucrece accompanies the King into the palace, even the ther ar three good reasons why she shud not: Tancred has been violently disturbed by her report of his dauter's desire to wed, she has no business in the palace, and she has to return immediatly to meet Gismund, who enters upon their exit. In T. and G.

Tancred turns irritably to his companions with the demand:

Return the chase; we have been chac'd enough—

and exits with them, leaving Lucrece on the stage.

In 11, iii of the older version Lucrece reports the unfavorabl result of her interview with the king on behalf of Gismund, and when she is thru, Gismund formally proceeds to deliver her reply, without any sort of transition. In *T. and G.* her respons is introduced with words that ar effectiv not only as a transition, but also in that they giv the speaker personality:

Gis. Deare Aunt, I have with patient eares indurde
The hearing of my fathers hard behest:

The closing of 11, iii in the later version is made apt by having Gismund beg Lucrece for consolation and moral support, which the latter promises.

The opening of III, iii in T. and G. exemplifies an interesting device for dramatic effectivness. In G. of S. Guiszard steps out on the stage and proceeds with his soliloquy. In the revision he cums on with Julio and Renuchio, and we lern at once that he is in a disturbd state of mind, for he turns to his companions and begs them to leav him to himself. Thus we ar made curius to hear what is on his mind.

The same device (of bringing caracters on as an excuse for sending them off) is employed at the opening of IV, i and IV, iii of the revised version. The latter opens with Tancred saying:

Renugio depart; leave us alone.

In G. of S. this scene consists of two speeches. Tancred rebukes Gismund, and she replies and departs. In T. and G. her exit is preceded by a brisk dialog that servs to

heat Tancred's rage, and so justifies, dramatically, his subsequent relentless conduct. The last words ar:

Tan. Begone.

Returne unto thy chamber.

Gis. I wil goe.

In G. of S. (v, i), when Renuchio has finish telling the corus the story of Guiszard's execution, he walks over to Gismund's chamber and begins abruptly: "Thy father, o Queene," etc. In T. and G. ther is a transition. After his narrative he asks the corus:

Where is the Princesse chamber?

Chorus.

Lo where she comes.

Wilmot, in his zeal for natural transition, forgot that Renuchio cud not be ignorant of the wherabouts of Gismund's chamber. Besides that he was capten of the gard, he had once befor gon ther to fetch her.

A similar transition is supplied at the opening of v, iii. In G. of S. Gismund's life cums to an abrupt termination. After dictating the epitaf she says no mor and the direction reads: Gismond dyeth. In T. and G. her last words ar:

And so vaine world, farewell.

My speech is painefull, and mine eie-sight failes.

In the revised version an attempt is made to break up long speeches, or to shorten them. Lucrece's appeal to Tancred in 11, ii is an exampl. The original of thirty-two and a half lines is broken in two by an excited dialog, and the two parts ar shortend.

Similarly, in the folloing scene, Lucrese's report of her interview with Tancred is broken in two by a dramatically apt interruption by Gismund, that creates interest in her personality, and makes us realize that the speech is being addrest to a particular individual, who is listening to it:

Lucrece. This is his final resolution.

Gis. A resolution that resolves my bloud
Into the ice-sie drops of Lethes flood.

An excellent exampl of abbreviation is found at the end of iv, ii. In G, of S, we read:

Tan. This must you doe: this se you doe in hast.
Julio. Both this and ells what your grace thinketh good
I shall obeie as long as life doth last.

In T. and G. the second line of Julio's respons is dropt, rendering it mor soldier-like, and, therefor, mor effective dramatically.

In the same scene (II. 89 ff.) the question, "Shall I destroic them bothe?," is elaborated into six lines in G. of S. In T. and G. the elaboration is dropt completely; and that the alteration was not made merely for the sake of brevity is indicated by the fact that the succeeding forteen lines ar amplified into thirty-six, to depict Tancred's mental conflict. Other instances of a speech being lengthend ar Gismund's defense, in IV, iii, and Tancred's rebuke to Guiszard, in IV, iv. In each case the speech is considerably alterd and renderd mor vigorus.

Ther ar other alterations making for dramatic effectivness. Cupid's complaint in 1, i, is made mor concrete and vivid by the addition of four lines:

A brat, a bastard, and an idle boy, A rod, a staffe, a whip to beate him out, And to be sicke of love, a childish toy— These are mine honors now the world about.

Near the end of the same speech six lines ar added as an address to the allegorical figures, which ar visibly presented in the revision, making them activ participants in the action.

Act v, originally pend by Wilmot himself, is made to undergo the most radical changes. Here he seemd to feel most liberty to express himself. Scene one, to be sure, remains merely a frank imitation of the conventional dialog, in Latin tragedy, between the messenger and the corus. But after that the act becums a praisworthy attempt to depict human caracter and emotion. At the very opening of Scene two, Wilmot hastens to correct an ingenuus inconsistency. In the first scene Renuchio had announced his determination to depart the moment he has deliverd his message, with Guiszard's hart, to Gismund, so as not to witness her anguish; yet, in G. of S. he remains til line twenty-four. In T. and G. Gismund receivs the message and graciusly dismisses Renuchio with a gift.

A passage (ll. 28-33) in which Gismund declaims against the cruelty that has forst her to see her lover's hart with her own eyes, is replaced by these lines:

Yet in this wound I see mine owne true love, And in this wound thy magnanimitie, And in this wound I see thy constancie. Go, gentle hart, go rest thee in thy tombe; Receiv this token at thy last farewell:

She kisses it

Thine owne true heart anon will follow thee, Which panting hasteth for thy companie.

The three successiv lines beginning with the same frase suggest the influence of *Tamburlaine*; ⁴ kissing the cup containing her luver's hart is a theatrical tuch; and the two lines following ar dramatic and hav human interest.

⁴ The same influence is suggested by four lines in Cupid's speech (III, i) in T. and G.:

Thus love shall make worldlings to know his might thus love shall force great princes to obey; Thus love shall daunt each proud rebelling sprite, thus love shall wreake his wrath on their decay. Theatrical effectivness is also attaind a littl farther on, in *T. and G.*, wher Gismund is made to remove the ornaments from her hair, letting it stream wildly in the wind.

When she is about to take the poison, in T. and G., the corus, individually, plead with her to desist, but she finally silences them with the words:

My mind is setled; you with these vain words, Withhold me but to long from my desire. Depart ye to my chamber.

Insted of obeying her command, however, they declare, "We wil hast to tel the king hereof," and depart into the palace insted of Gismund's chamber. On their departure Gismund quietly remarks:

I will prevent
Both you and him. Lo here, this harty draught,
The last that in this world I mean to tast,
Dreadlesse of death, mine Earle, I drink to thee.

Wud it be extravagant, on the strength of the situation in general and the last line in particular, to believ that ther was a conscius relation between Gismund and Juliet?

Compared with T. and G., the development of the remainder of this scene in G. of S. is tame—one short speech by Tancred and Gismund each, another short speech by Tancred, then a long speech by Gismund, ending with her deth, and folloed by Tancred's lamentation. In T. and G. father and dauter becum startlingly human. An attempt is made to utilize the theatrical and emotional possibilities of the truly tragic situation. The accomplishment, perhaps, does not mesure up to the attempt, but in this discussion we ar primarily interested in the attempt.

Greater emfasis is laid on paternal and filial tenderness. For instance, O King becums Oh father, King, and O my daughter becums Oh my sweetheart.

In G. of S. Gismund not only requests that she be buried in one tomb with her luver, but she even dictates the epitaf eternizing their star-crost luv. In T. and G. she merely requests that they be buried together; Tancred himself givs commands to Julio to "engrave some Royall Epitaph of love" upon their tomb.

In G. of S. Gismund givs her thanks befor making her request, so that she dies with startling abruptness after dictating the epitaf. In T. and G. the order is reverst, and Gismund can appropriatly ad:

And so, vaine world, farewel.

My speech is painefull, and mine eie-sight failes.

thus rendering her deth les artificial. Besides, her deth pangs ar described by her father. Indeed, Wilmot makes much mor of Tancred's lamentation in T. and G. than in G. of S.

In G. of S. Tancred, in his lamentation, declares his intention to take his life in the tomb of the luvers after he has seen them properly buried. But by 1591 Kyd and Marlowe had made scenes of violence and bloodshed popular on the stage, so it behooved Wilmot to follo the fashion. In the revised version, therfor, Tancred determins to slay himself then and ther. So he calls Julio and makes him swear on his thi to execute Gismund's last wish, and to bury him in the same tomb with the lovers. Julio finds it his duty to importune his king to desist; so opportunity is afforded for another exampl of brisk dialog, which only servs to intensify Tancred's purpos. He commands Julio not to interfere lest that he "make up the fourth to fill this Tragedie," and then deliberately puts out his eyes, as gilty participants in the calamity. He further justifies

In having Tancred put out his eyes befor killing himself, Wilmot imitated Frederigo Asinari, who, in 1576, had ritten a tragedy on the same subject.

this apparently superfluus act of self-torture as a fitting preparativ for the jurney down to the relm of darkness on which he was about to embark. This horrible scene, which the audience is made to witness, is preceded by a word picture hardly less revolting.

In T. and G. Tancred's last words befor applying the sord to himself: "Daughter, I come," serv as a very effectiv termination to the play; but they ar hardly consistent when we remember that only a moment ago he told us that he was embarking for the land of "everlasting night." He shud not expect to find his dauter ther. Besides, Gismund herself had informed us that she was passing "to the pleasant land of love, where heavenly love immortall flourisheth." However, since Wilmot's effort was a laudabl one, we must be charitabl with him when the very eagerness of his effort causes him to trip up.

Even the corus is made to undergo significant changes. In G. of S. it consists of four "gentlemen of Salerne"; in T. and G. of four handmaids of Gismund. As such they can be, and ar, made participants in the action. They engage in dialog with the caracters, as in Seneca. But they do mor than that. They act as caracters themselves. They receiv orders which they obey or disobey, as the action demands. They cum out with Gismund, and stay behind by order of Tancred. When they try to interfere with Gismund's plans of suicide, she commands them to retire to her chamber; but they openly disobey her and run to the palace to inform the king of her intentions.

Ther remain to be considered certain additions that must be lookt upon as doutful. These ar the dum shos preceding each of the last four acts, and three indicated incidental songs, distributed amongt he first three acts. Neither H nor L includes them or any reference to them. Brandl believs they wer absent in the original performance. At

any rate it may be considered a certenty that the dum shos as we hav them, wer not part of the original performance. We ar forst to this conclusion by two pieces of evidence; namely, the absence of a dum sho befor the first act, and the content of the dum sho befor the third act.

In place of a dum sho befor Act I, Wilmot alterd the first scene in such a way as to make it a typical dum sho, This he accomplisht by presenting visibly only vocalized. the allegorical figures that ar named in the original version, and having them take part in the action. It does not seem likely that he wud hav dropt a dum sho to do this. A mor reasonabl explanation is afforded by the nature of the four dum shos we hav. They ar a departure in their Wilmot had lernd that the drama must be conkind. crete, so insted of being allegorical introductions, they carry on the action from one act to the other, presenting scenes that ar supposed to be enacted off stage, the caracters being those that appear in the play. Indeed, the spectacles befor the second, fourth, and fifth acts mite redily be made integral parts of those acts, respectivly, by giving the participants speech. Of course ther was no room for a performance of this kind befor the first act. Apparently. therfor, Wilmot, having composed dum shos for the other acts, decided to giv the first act a substitute by altering its first scene in the manner explaind.

The evidence afforded by the dum sho preceding the third act is incontrovertibl; for its content fits the text of 1591, but not that of 1567.

The problem of the three songs is no less puzzling. In the first place, the text of not one of the songs is given. In the next place, ther is an addition to the text in each case to introduce the song. In the third place, the author's frank comment on the first song is: Quae mihi cantio non-dum occurrit. If ther wer no mor evidence to be con-

siderd, it wud be reasonabl to infer that the songs wer not part of the original version. But the puzzle is sprung on us by the stage direction that is supposed to follo the third song. It reads:

After the song, which was BY REPORT very sweetly repeated of the Chorus, Lucrece departeth into Gismund's chamber.

Ar we to understand by this that a song had really been sung at the performance? If so why is not the text given? The second song, too, if it had ever been composed, wud surely hav been printed, for it was supposed to be a glorification of Elizabeth. Besides, an argument that favors the presence of dum shos in G. of S., namely, that they ar present in Gorboduc and Jocasta, wud favor the absence of songs. Their inclusion does not accord with the Senecan model. It seeems likely that Wilmot provided for them in his revision, under the influence of the popular theater.

A redily notisabl difference between the erlier and the later version is the presence in the latter of no less than six specimens of brisk dialog, wheras ther is only one in the former. While these specimens wer undoutedly inspired by a desire for animation and excitement, yet we must not welcum them too warmly, for in one sense they ment the opposit of progress. They all belong to one conventional pattern—non other than the classical stichomyth. Even here we can probably trace the immediat influence of The Misfortunes of Arthur, which presented numerus examples of stichomythic dialog. It is likely that Wilmot's ear did not distinguish the unnatural tone in the type he was using. Be this as it may, that he frankly realized that he was imitating what he knew to be a classical model, is proved by the fact that in the stichomyth

In G. of S., I, iii. In T. and G., I, iii; II, ii; IV, iii, iV; V, ii, iii.

in v, iii he introduces a reference to Jove, while thruout the rest of the play he is at pains to eliminate classical theology. However, these stichomyths do help to break up the monotony of the discourses and to accelerate the motion of the play; so we may hail them as improvements. Perhaps Wilmot wud hav preferd to imitate the mor natural tragic dialog developt in contemporary tragedies, if he had been able to read them in print; but they wer as yet accessibl only in the theater, and as a makeshift, ther was sufficient resemblance between the Senecan stichomyth and the one line antithetic dialog caracteristic of the period.

The alterations thruout the play ar, on the hole, carefully made. The patches and seams ar not glaringly obvius. In three instances, however, Wilmot nodded, and the result in each case is an absurd inconsistency. To one of these, attention has been cald abuv. In the other two instances the contradiction is even mor palpabl. They occur in 111, iii, and IV, ii.

When Wilmot came to revise III, iii, the length of Guiszard's soliloquy made him lose the drift. Certain lines causd him to becom imprest with the singularly dramatic nature of the situation; namely, that these two passionat luvers had never spoken of their luv to each other; so that insted of merely intimating the fact by the words, "as it appereth by prefe of her gestures," he burst out in an expression of the wonder of it al:

Heavens, have ye seen, or hath the age of man seen Recorded such a myracle as this? In equall love two noble harts to frame, That never spake one with another's blisse!

Yet befor the end of the speech he forgot about this

⁷ One example of stichomythia in genuin Senecan style is found in Shakspere: 1 Henry VI, IV, v, 34-43.

"myracle," and made the occasion when Gismund gave him the cane containing the letter, a dance, during which Gismund whispers luv, frankly and prettily offering to surrender herself to Guiszard, giving him not only the cane, but also a "golden tresse" from her "alluring lockes."

In IV, ii of G. of S. Tancred enters alone and in a soliloquy reports the scene of intemperat luv he had witnest between Gismund and Guiszard. Then calling Julio, he commands him to apprehend the gilty erl, adding:

what is his fawlt neither shall you enquire, nor I can now declare.

In T. and G. Tancred enters with Julio and Renuchio; so he tels his story to them, introducing it with the words:

Heare me, my friends; but as ye love your lives, Replie not to me; hearken and stand amaz'd.

Yet, at the end of the scene, when Tancred orders Julio to arrest Guiszard, Wilmot forgot to omit the king's refusal to giv an explanation. He even alterd part of it to improve the rythm, changing "nor I can now declare" to "Nor list we to disclose."

A comparison between the two versions givs evidence of the improved staging conditions that had developt during the interim. The original play cals for a setting, to a certen extent resembling that of the medieval stage, while the revision cals for the regular Shaksperean stage.

When Renuchio, in v, i of G. of S. finishes telling his story to the corus, the stage direction reads:

Renuchio delivereth the cup to Gismund in her chamber-

and the dialog between Renuchio and Gismund follos. In T. and G., on the other hand, the direction reads:

Gismund commeth out of her chamber, to whom Renuchio delivereth his cup, saying.

Likewise in v, iii (v, ii in H), the king, having been informd that Gismund has taken poison, enters, and the direction reads:

Tancred cometh out of the palace.

He speaks four lines; then we read:

Tancred entereth into gismonds chamber-

and we witness the scene between father and dying dauter. As Gismund expires, Tancred exclaims:

O me, alas! now do the cruell paines of cursed death my dere dawghter bereave. Alas, whie byde I here? The sight constraines me, woefull man, this wofull place to leave.

and the stage direction is:

Tancred cometh owt of gis: chamber.

Then follos Tancred's final lamentation.

In T. and G., on the other hand, Gismund, having cum out of her chamber to meet Renuchio, remains out, so that her father does not need to enter her chamber to find her.

It must be observed that the difference is confined to one scene. The play, in both versions, is enacted on what the directions designate as "the stage," except that in G. of S. y, ii, save for four lines, it is enacted within Gismund's chamber. It is evident that up to v, ii the interior of Gismund's chamber is not visibl. Caracters repeatedly make their exit by entering therein. Apparently at the opening of v, ii, a curten is drawn, revealing the princess' chamber, furnisht at least with a cupbord or an equivalent piece of furniture, for a direction in H reads:

now goes she to some cupp borde or place wher the vyoll of poison ys and takes yt and sayes:

Two scenes, according to the division in L.

When Wilmot revised the play he realized that here was an awkward succession of scenes to handl on a stage presenting a single locality, so he dodged the difficulty by having his heroin do the les natural thing of committing suicide on the "stage" insted of her own room.⁹ Here she takes the vial of poison out of her pocket.

If Gismund's chamber was situated in the back of the stage, which is wher it most naturally wud be, then it corresponded to the "inner stage" of the later theater.

The differences between G. of S. and T. and G. thus far indicated, ar of a mecanical nature, concernd with the matter of the play, therfor easy to discover. Less simpl, but not less important, is the task of tracing the differences in the spirit. Yet even here we hav sum tangibl evidence to gide us. The gentlemen of the ins of cort lookt upon dramatic composition as a scolarly intellectual amusement, and as a practis useful from the didactic standpoint. Hence the material of a play mite be anything that cud be fitted into the recognized Senecan mold, and be made to teach the desired lesson. Thus in G. of S., altho the play is ritten for a modern audience, and the story is a modern one, and the caracters hav modern names, yet the religion and the moral standards ar those of Seneca. When Wilmot revised the play he felt that the drama must interest itself in life for its own sake. Accordingly he pruned out classical theology and substituted Christian for pagan ethics.¹⁰ The caracters no longer cal upon Roman gods. On the contrary, when Tancred imposes an oath upon Julio, he follos the exampl of the patriarchs Abraham

⁹ It may not be amis to call attention to the fact that Shakspere, too, was confronted by a similar difficulty in *Julius Cæsar*, III, i. Apparently he met it with no mor skil than the author of *T. and G.*

¹⁰ The fact that he retaind the classical machinery in the figures of Cupid and the furies strengthens rather than weakens the point.

and Jacob, and has his servant lay his rite hand upon his thi.

In the erlier version, Gismund's conception of life after deth is indicated in the folloing (v, ii, 75):

But let us dye: for in such sort it likes us to assay to passe down to the paled ghostes of hell, and there enione my love whom thus my sire wold not permitt in earth with me to dwell.

This pagan conception is changed in T. and G. to a Christian, neo-Platonic conception:

Now passe I to the pleasant land of love, Where heavenly love immortall flourisheth.

In G. of S. the corus, at the end of III, iii, informs us that

... seldome times is Cupide wont to send unto a Joiefull love a Joiefull end.

This pagan idea is made "moral" in the revision by the substitution of a single word, so that it reads:

. . . seldome times is Cupid wont to send Unto an idle love a ioyfull end.

In G. of S. (IV, i) Megaera cums as the spirit of revenge, sent by Pluto at the request of Gismond's deceast husband, who

... prayed due paine for her that thus hath lost due care of him.

In T. and G. this husband

. . . praied due paine for her, that thus hath lost All care of him and of her chastitie.

Wilmot was so anxius in his revision to emfasize Gismond's crime of unchastity, for the sake of dramatic justis, as wel as to make the play les pagan, that he

inserted a line having nothing to rime with, at the same time making the sentence structure incoherent. He himself, in his prefatory address, affirms a didactic purpos, declaring that his play agrees with those of Beza and Buchanan in "commending vertue, detesting vice, and lively deciphering their overthrow that suppresse not their unruely affections." It may be askt whether Gismund, who, from the moral standpoint, is a woman of sin, whose conduct is an exampl of abominable vice, is presented in such a way as to be detested by the reader or spectator. Decidedly not. From first to last our sympathy is always with her. And so is the author's. In the "argument" appended to the original version the sinful luvers suffer no reproach, but we ar told that Tancred slew himself "with his owne hand, to the reproche of his own and terror of others crueltie." In the revision the point is made even mor clear, the passage being alterd to read: "to his owne reproch, and the terror of all other hard hearted fathers." Apparently, then, the moral lesson of the play is a warning to fathers not to deal harshly with sinful dauters.

Likewise, the third sonnet appended to the original version, and retaind in the revision, speaks very approvingly of the luv of Gismund and Guiszard, but concerning the king it says:

The king prayes pardon of his cruell hest and for amends desireth yt may suffice that with his blood he teacheth now the rest of fond fathers that thei in kynder wise entreat the jewells wher ther comfort lies.

To make this admonition mor effectiv, Wilmot, in the revision even incorporated it in the play, putting it into the mouth of Tancred himself, and, save for the final dramatic apostrofe to Gismund, making it the last word of the play:

. Now, fathers, learn by me;
Be wise, be warnde to use more tenderly
The iewels of your ioyes. Daughter, I come.

In the prefatory address to the gentlemen of the Inner and the Middl Templ, he speaks of the luv he has entertaind for Gismund for twenty-four years; and even Webbe, in his epistl to Wilmot, urges him to print the play, for otherwise he wud "defraud sweete Gismund of a famous eternitie." Webbe's caracterization of Gismund may be taken as an indication of a representativ attitude toward the heroin and her history.

Finally, Wilmot's protestations of a didactic aim takes on a humorus aspect when, in recommending the work to the worshipful ladies to whom he dedicates it, he speaks of the refreshing effect that the perusal of a mournful play with a moral lesson has during weary winter. Plainly, Wilmot's asseveration of a moral purpos was hypocritical. It was stil demanded by convention, and in his own case was rendered imperative by his position as a clergyman.

One must not bring this discussion to a close without including certen other passages which hav an indirect bearing on the central aim of this comparison, in that they giv evidence of the alertness with which the authors folloed the literary movements of the day.

When G. of S. was composed the Petrarchistic vogue in France was still activ, tho its best fruits had alredy been ripend by the *Pléiade*. The most common of the conventional themes of this vogue—the suffering caused the passionat luver by the disdain of the lady—is alluded to in the corus at the end of the fourth act. The corus admonishes us against passionat luv, promising us that "he that doth in vertue his ladie serve," does not find

¹¹ On this subject, see the present riter's Literary Criticism from the Elizabethan Dramatists, pp. 3 ff.

... his lief or death in her one sight, as pleaseth her to smile, or ells to frowne, that holdes his hart. ne writes his wofull laies to move to pitie or pluck adowne her stonic mynd which yelds as to the seas the rockie cliefe that standeth on the shore. And manie a time the guarden of ther lov repentence is.

An exampl of the rite kind of luv is afforded by Petrarch and Laura:

So whilome did the learned Tuscan serve his chast ladie and glorie was ther end.

The first of these passages is omitted in the revision, but its place is taken by an exposition of the ideal luv, the conception of which had been developt by Renascence Platonism:

The love of vertue in thy ladies lookes,
The love of vertue in her learned talke,
This love yields matter for eternall bookes,
This intiseth him abroad to walke,
There to invent and write new rondelaies
Of learned conceit. Her fancies to allure
To vaine delights, such humors he allaies,
And sings of vertue and her garments pure.

In the fifth act, also, ther is a pertinent reference inserted by Wilmot. When Gismund takes the poison she remarks:

Now passe I to the pleasant land of love, Where heavenly love immortall flourisheth.

If we remember that up to the year in which Wilmot issued his revision, Petrarchism had made its appearance in England in only three widely separated and comparativly unimportant publications, ¹² we can realize how much

¹² Tottel's Miscellany, 1557; Spenser's translations from Petrarch and DuBellay, 1569; Watson's Hekatompathia, 1582. The English sonnetteering vogue began with the publication of Sidney's Astrophel

alive he was to contemporary literary currents, and, therfor, how sensitiv he must hav been to the "decorum" of his day.

It wud be easy to exaggerate the importance of these two versions for our knowledg of the development of the Elizabethan drama. If we had no extant plays ritten, say, between 1585 and 1595, their importance wud be considerabl. But we hav The Spanish Tragedy and we hav Tamburlaine; so we kno the direction taken by the dramatic forces of the time. Indeed, if we had only Tancred and Gismund to depend on, we shud hav a very erroneus conception of the typical English play of 1591; for the original was not a popular play and the revision was not intended for popular performance. The valu of T. and G. to the student lies only in its variations from G. of S. The exampl of a scolar, prompted to literary activity apparently by a desire to enhance the honor of the Inner Templ, and avowing his contempt for the public theater, falling, nevertheless, into the irresistible grip of that theater, is an eloquent lesson on the vitality of the dramatic forces of the period.

DAVID KLEIN.

and Stella, 1591. For a fuller treatment of this matter see the present riter's "Foreign Influence on Shakespeare's Sonnets" in the Sewanee Rev., vol. XIII.